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ABSTRACT

The acculturation of developmental timetables for autonomy from parental supervision and in social relationships was studied in a sample of 220 ethnic German immigrants to Germany from Romania, Poland, and countries of the former Soviet Union. The acculturation rate was predicted to be related to prior differences in parent-adolescent interaction and the frequency of adolescents' activities outside the home. Across four waves of semiannual questionnaire or interview assessments for newcomers (0-18 months residence in Germany) and experienced immigrants (18-36 months), a gradual acculturation of timetables was observed, resulting in considerably earlier ages at which autonomy was attained. Higher levels of conflict and permissiveness reported by parents and lower levels of monitoring and more frequent out-of-home activities corresponded to a more accelerated acculturation to earlier timetables for autonomy from parental supervision. With regard to autonomy in social relationships, the results were less clear, presumably because prior interpersonal experiences were less strongly associated with this facet of autonomy. Prediction of autonomy was not possible with adolescents who had resided in Germany longer than 18 months, presumably because higher levels of the family variables promoted "escape" from the constraints of the newcomers' provisional homes and thus provided opportunities to make contacts and adopt the lifestyle of adolescents from the general German population. For the group of immigrants who had resided in Germany for at least 18 months, such escapes no longer served this purpose because they had access to other opportunities not measured in this study. (Contains 36 references.) (Author/KDFB)

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Acculturation of Developmental Timetables among Adolescent Immigrants¹

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Abstract

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The acculturation of developmental timetables for autonomy was studied in a sample of 220 ethnic German immigrants (*Aussiedler*) from Romania, Poland, and countries of the former Soviet Union. The timing of autonomy from parental supervision and autonomy in social relationships was distinguished. Across four waves of semi-annual assessments, accomplished for newcomers (0 - 18 months of residence in Germany) and experienced immigrants (18 - 36 months), a gradual acculturation of timetables was observed, resulting as expected in considerably earlier ages at which the two facets of autonomy were accomplished. The rate of acculturation was predicted to be related to prior differences in parent-adolescent interaction and frequency of adolescents' activities outside the home. As expected, higher levels of conflicts and permissiveness reported by parents, and lower levels of monitoring and more-frequent out-of-home activities corresponded to a more accelerated acculturation to earlier timetables concerning autonomy from parental supervision. With regard to autonomy in social relationships, the results were less clear, presumably due to the fact that the prior interpersonal experiences were less associated with this facet of autonomy. In general, prediction was not possible concerning adolescents whose residence in Germany was longer than 18 months. The reason presumably lies in the fact that higher levels of the family variables studied promoted „escape“ from the constraints of the newcomers' provisional homes, and thus provided opportunities to make contacts and adopt the life style of adolescents from the general German population. For the group of immigrants who had settled in Germany for an extended period of time, however, such escapes no longer serve the expected purpose because they have access to other opportunities which were not measured in this study.

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Acculturation of Developmental Timetables among Adolescent Immigrants

The aim of this study is to describe and explain individual differences in the acculturation of developmental timetables among a particular group of immigrants to Germany. By developmental timetables we mean the age at which young people consummate typical gains in autonomy for the first time, such as going out without explicit parental permission. The group of immigrants are the Aussiedler, ethnic Germans whose ancestors moved to Eastern and Southeastern Europe as well as to some parts of Asia in part more than 200 years ago (Bade, 1993; International Herald Tribune, 27.3.96).

Having been a wealthy social group in the respective countries, the situation of the ethnic Germans changed as a result of World War II. Accused of collaboration with the Nazis, the Germans became a repressed minority. Economic strains, prohibition of the German language, and the shutdown of German schools were among the relatively harmless consequences compared to „gulag“ and forced relocation to Siberia and Kazakstan. Repression nevertheless helped to keep German identity remain alive, although many, especially of the young generation, did not actively use German any more.

Due to the political changes in the former Eastern bloc during the 1980s, about 2,3 million immigrants from Poland, Romania, and the countries of the former Soviet Union migrated to Germany (Info-Dienst Deutsche Aussiedler, 1996). In spite of governmental efforts to keep families from moving, increasing nationalism and economic strains pushed many ethnic Germans to leave, and between one and two million people are still expected to go during the next decade (Die Zeit, 26.1.96).

By German law, the newcomers are German citizens with full legal rights. This regulation makes the group of the Aussiedler different from all other immigrants into Germany. In terms of value orientation, German language skills or life style, however, the newcomers face a true immigration process with acculturative changes and strains. This contributes to the paradox that Aussiedler find themselves as strangers in the country they deem to be their mother country. The local Germans consider them as Russians or Poles who compete for jobs and housing (Institut fuer Demoskopie Allensbach, 1988). The traditional, collectivist value orientations of the Aussiedler differ very much from the more individualistic values of the local Germans (Malchow, Tayebi & Brand, 1990; Smith, Dugan & Trompenaars, 1996). Together with provisional accommodation during the first years and a hard time to find jobs, most Aussiedler families undergo a difficult and sometimes depressing experience.

This gap between expectations and reality may be even more true for children and adolescents. Many of them were brought to Germany without having had a chance to contribute to the decision process. In contrast to their parents, they felt as young Russians or Romanians, they had friends in their home-countries and did not use German at all (Projektgruppe EVA-A, 1991). For them, the historical background, which instilled their parents' and grandparents' motivation to migrate, was not relevant (Kossolapow, 1987). In addition, the adolescents come to Germany during a

developmental period where autonomy and independence from parents are at stake (Erikson, 1968). Instead of being able to spend time with peers, in the migration situation they lack such contacts and may have to share a single room with their parents (Lange, 1991).

Hypotheses

As already mentioned, developmental timetables refer to the timing of waystations to adulthood. Within the present context, we do not address the institutionally organized transitions, such as leaving school or starting one's vocational training. Rather, the focus is on the timing of achievements with regard to behavioral autonomy in the personal domain, such as romantic involvement or evening schedules of one's own choice (Feldman & Quatman, 1988; Rosenthal & Bornholt, 1988). Such timetables differ between cultures due to their roots in value orientations (Feldman & Rosenthal, 1994). In a collectivist society where caring for others and obedience are salient features of life, personal autonomy is less important and own interests should stand behind the interests of others. In a more individualistic culture, demands and opportunities for autonomy are more important, as autonomy and self-reliance are two of the main principles perceived as highly valuable (Hofstede, 1980; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1990). Consequently, in collectivistic cultures personal autonomy in terms of initiative and independence is achieved later than in individualistic cultures, whereas for behaviors reflecting self-control, respect, or unsupervised activities, autonomy is achieved earlier (Feldman & Rosenthal, 1991).

According to Lantermann and Hânze (1995), Aussiedler families tend more to collectivist values than common among the local German population. In confirmation of the earlier research on the relationship between values and timetables, Silbereisen and Schmitt-Rdermund (1995) found the timetables of recently immigrated Aussiedler adolescents, compared to German age-mates, shifted three years on average toward older ages.

With the time of residence in the host culture, values at least among adolescents are likely to undergo gradual acculturation to the local standards (Feldman, Mont-Reynaud & Rosenthal, 1992; Rosenthal et al., 1989), and for that reason the same change is to be expected for developmental timetables. Indeed, comparisons of immigrant groups differing in length of residence showed timetables to gradually adapt the longer the adolescents had lived in the host country (Feldman & Rosenthal, 1990).

The previous studies on the acculturation of developmental timetables were cross-sectional, and none addressed ethnic Germans. Against this backdrop, Hypothesis 1 was that Aussiedlers' timetables would gradually approach that of adolescents from the local German population, that is, would change to earlier ages as a function of the length of residence in the country. Feldman and Rosenthal (1990) reported only few adaptive changes of Chinese adolescents' age expectations, even among second generation immigrants who were born in the host country. According to earlier research, however, adaptation is likely to happen among immigrants who perceive the host culture as attractive (Taft, 1985). As Aussiedler come to Germany with „living in Germany as a German“ being the

most prominent motive (Malchow, Tayebi & Brand, 1990), we predicted changes of developmental timetables to begin soon after arrival.

Research on developmental timetables conducted thus far was predominantly descriptive in nature. A few studies, however, addressed the correlates of individual differences and found aspects of family interaction to be involved (Feldman & Rosenthal, 1991; Feldman & Rosenthal, 1994; Feldman & Wood, 1994). Adolescents with late autonomy expectations had parents who monitored them more and had a demanding parenting style, that is, were involved in adolescent decision making, were achievement oriented and had high scores on control (Feldman & Rosenthal, 1991). Furthermore, higher levels of conflicts within the family and authoritarian parental styles predicted earlier timing of transitions to autonomy (Feldman & Rosenthal, 1994). According to the authors, the effects observed are due to the promotion of peer contacts, which, in turn, result in earlier timetables.

Although these results on possible roots of individual differences provided a blueprint for our expectations, additional thoughts are necessary in order to identify the likely correlates of acculturative change in developmental timetables. Basically we also refer to the peer contacts Feldman and Rosenthal (1991; 1994) had suggested. Peers' model is presumably an important source of information on developmental timetables, particularly if they belong to the local German population. Other sources, such as explicit teaching or adults' model are unlikely to play a role, at least in the situation of acculturation (Greene, Wheatley & Aldava, 1992).

More specifically, two aspects of experiences which are likely to increase contact and exchange with peers are considered. The first one is directly related to modes of parent-child interactions that are known to lead adolescents into more frequent involvement with peers. According to research on the relationship between family processes and closeness to peers (Snyder, Dishion & Patterson, 1986; Belsky, Steinberg & Draper, 1991), high level of conflicts and low cohesion are likely to provide the affective basis for a stronger orientation toward peers. If such experience provides a fertile ground, parental permissive autonomy granting and few opportunities to monitor adolescents' activities can be presumed to strengthen further the young's proneness to increased peer contacts. Such contacts, in turn, are expected to result in a trend toward earlier timetables for autonomy.

The second experience seen as relevant in this regard is the actual amount of time adolescents have at their disposal beyond family duties and supervision by parents. More frequent such out-of-home activities are expected to result in more contact with local German peers, and therefore have an influence on the acculturation of timetables toward the earlier age common among agetates from the general population. Taken together, Hypothesis 2 claims that those Aussiedler adolescents show more pronounced acculturative change who experience more conflicts and less cohesion, more permissiveness and lower monitoring, and who have more leeway for out-of-home activities.

Methods

Sample

The sample for the present analyses was comprised of 220 ethnic German families from Poland, Romania, and countries of the former Soviet Union. At the time of the first of four interviews, the target child was in the age range between 10 and 16 years. Concerning length of residence, the families were chosen as to represent two distinct groups, namely families who at T1 had lived in Germany between a few weeks and 18 months, and families who had resided between more than 18 and about 36 months. Table 1 shows demographic characteristics of the sample.

Table 1

Some of the differences revealed in the table are due to length of residence. This is true for the higher share of families still living in provisional homes and the higher unemployment rate among the newcomers. The different pattern with regard to the countries of origin ($\chi^2 = 47.73$, $p < .001$) reflect real changes in the Aussiedler population during the studied period. Except fathers' age ($F = 4.57$, $p < .05$), mothers' years of education ($F = 5.72$, $p < .05$), newcomers and experienced Aussiedler were equivalent in terms of social status, that is, work and accommodation in the country of origin.

Procedure

From spring 1992 through fall 1993, four interviews were conducted in six-month intervals. For approximately three hours, families were interviewed in person by trained interviewers. Families were recruited through advertisements in local newspapers and by utilizing various institutional and personal contacts of the members of the six participating research sites. As many of the Aussiedler still lived in provisional homes, and thus often shared a single room, some of the adolescents' data was assessed by written questionnaire. In this way, independence of parents' and adolescents' reports was hoped to achieve. Due to problems with the German language, some of the adolescents were interviewed using a Polish or Russian version of the questionnaire.

Measures

Developmental timetables were assessed concerning seven different youthful transitions (Feldman & Quatman, 1988; Rosenthal & Bornholt, 1988). Adolescents were asked to report at what age (in full years) they would expect to have accomplished, or already have accomplished, seven facets of autonomy: Not have to tell parents where you are going, Come home at night as late as you want, Spend money (wages or allowances) however you want, Go out dancing in discotheques, Drink alcohol other than in the company of parents, Fall in love, Have a steady boyfriend/girlfriend. The responses were recoded into a scale ranging from 1 (earlier than age 10.5), 2 (from 10.5 to 12.5) to 5 (from 16.5 to 18.5), and 6 (later than age 18.5). The response „never“, this happened on average 28.6 times at measurement wave 1 (T2: 22.6, T3: 17.5, T4: 11.4), was indicated by the score 7.

Two aspects of autonomy were distinguished using by exploratory principal component analyses, namely, autonomy from parental supervision (the first three age expectations) and autonomy

in social relationships (the next four items). The internal consistencies (alpha) for autonomy from parental supervision were .55 at T1, .61 at T2, .62 at T3, and .59 at T4. For autonomy in social relationships, the respective alphas were .72, .72, .64, and .62. The size of the consistency coefficients was similar to those reported by Feldman and Rosenthal (1991). The measures used in the analyses are the averages across the respective item ratings on the two facets of autonomy.

Conflicts between parents and adolescent were reported by the parents, using five age-typic conflicts drawn from Spiel (1992). Parents were asked to rate the intensity of recent disputes (e.g. concerning his/her company during leisure, his/her homework for school) on a six-point scale with 0 indicating no conflicts at all and 5 representing the highest intensity. The internal consistencies (alpha) were .67 at T2 and .71 at T3. The average across the five items was used as a measure.

Parental monitoring was reported by the adolescents. In contrast to active supervision by the parents, the indication of monitoring here was whether adolescents shared information with their parents. Reminiscent of Patterson and Stouthammer-Loeber (1984), the adolescents responded to four items (e.g., "Do you tell your mother where you spend your time after school") on a five-point scale assessed separately for mothers and fathers (1 = never, 5 = always). The internal consistencies were .77 for mothers and .80 for fathers at T2, and .83 for both parents at T3. As the averages across mother and father items were correlated with $r = .71$ at T2 and $.73$ at T3, parents' scales were combined to an average family monitoring score.

Family cohesion was assessed using four items abridged from a scale of the Family Diagnostic Inventory by Schneewind (1988) (e.g., "The family members feel very close to each other"). Parents were asked to discuss their joint answer and then respond on a 5-point scale (1 = not true to 5 = true). The internal consistencies (alpha) were .57 at T2 and .67 at T3. A unit weight average composite score was computed.

Parents reported the level of permissiveness in their parenting. A three-item scale drawn from Dornbusch et al. (1985) was used (e.g., "Who decides at which time your child is expected back home"). Mothers and fathers answered separately on a 5-point scale (1 = child alone, 2 = mostly the child to 5 = parents alone). The internal consistencies (alpha) of the six items were .64 at T2 and .68 at T3. For the three areas of decisions and the two parents, the number of the 1 and 2 scores was counted ('child alone' and 'mostly child') and taken as a family score (maximum = 6, minimum = 0).

The frequency of adolescents' out-of-home activities was assessed by asking them, how often during the last week they had not been at home in the afternoons (2-7 p.m.) and evenings (7-11 p.m.), respectively. Scores varied between 0 and 7. Because the standard deviations differed, the two data sets were z-standardized and an average score for frequency of out-of-home activities was computed.

Following a procedure designed by Alsaker (1992), maturational timing at Wave 1 was assessed using information on the status of pubertal development as designed by Petersen et al. (1988). Mothers of boys reported the status of their sons' growth-spurt, facial hair, body hair, and breaking of the voice (1 = not yet started to 4 = already completed). Mothers of girls reported the status

of their daughters' growth-spurt, breast development, body hair and menarche. Separately for each gender and age group, individuals' average scores were z-standardized. Adolescents with scores higher than one standard deviation above the grand mean were deemed as fast developers (17.3%), adolescents with scores lower than one standard deviation below the mean were deemed as slow developers (16.8%).

Results

Hypothesis 1: Acculturation of Developmental Timetables

To test Hypothesis 1, ANOVAs were conducted separately for the two facets of autonomy. Length of residence (newcomers vs. experienced) and adolescents' Gender (male vs. female) were between-groups factors, Wave of measurement represented the within-group factor. Age of the adolescents was partialled out. Table 2 summarizes the effects.

Table 2

As expected, there was a significant difference between the groups of newcomers and experienced Aussiedler in both facets of autonomy. The experienced adolescents' timetables revealed earlier ages for the transitions. They had lived in Germany longer and consequently had more time to adapt their timetables to those of local Germans.

For autonomy in social relationships, there was a tendency for girls to report earlier timetables. This is consistent with research on girls' social development. Females turn to peers at an earlier age than males do (Coleman, 1980).

For autonomy from parental supervision and for autonomy in social relationships, the significant effect of Wave revealed change in the age expectations. Furthermore, for autonomy in social relationships, the significant interaction between Length of residence and Wave shows that adaptation was different for newcomers and experienced adolescents. Figure 1 depicts the mean trends in both facets of timetables, drawn separately for the two groups.

Figure 1

In order to evaluate the trends further, contrasts between the four measurement points were computed. The results are shown in Table 3. As can be seen, all contrasts are significant with regard to autonomy in social relationships, whereas this is not the case for some comparisons concerning autonomy from parental supervision. The latter shows a somewhat less accelerated acculturation rate, particularly among newcomers.

Table 3

In sum, Hypothesis 1 was confirmed for both facets of autonomy. Experienced adolescents revealed earlier timetables, and within each of those groups there was also a trend toward earlier timing.²

Hypothesis 2: Sources of Differences in the Rate of Change

Hypothesis 2 was tested by multiple regressions, conducted separately for the four combinations of autonomy facets and residence groups. Predictors were conflicts among parents and adolescents, parental permissiveness, monitoring, family cohesion, and frequency of out-of-home activities. All predictors were assessed at T2 and T3. The average of the two waves was computed in order to increase the reliability of the measures. Adolescents' age and gender were entered as controls, further two dummy variables on country of origin (D1: Poland = -1, Romania = 1; D2: Poland = -1, Soviet Union = 1), and adolescents' maturational timing assessed at T1. The T1 assessment of autonomy expectations was entered as a predictor in order to analyze change in timetables between Times 1 and 4.

Table 4 shows the results. Beta- and b-coefficients are reported. The interpretation of the coefficients is straightforward. A positive sign such as the .27 for monitoring, for instance, indicates that higher levels of monitoring correspond to above-average residual change in developmental timetables for autonomy. Due to the fact that the overall trend is toward earlier ages, this means that high levels of monitoring correspond to less pronounced acculturation toward the standards of local German adolescents. Negative signs, in turn, would indicate a more pronounced acculturation, that is, a particularly strong change to earlier ages.

Table 4

As given at the bottom of the table, the multiple regression was significant for all four groups analyzed. The T1 data on autonomy were a significant predictor, thus indicating a degree of stability. The other effects reveal the role of individual differences in the respective variables in predicting change in the timetables. Concerning the control variables, some commonalities are revealed across the groups (although not always significant). The timing of maturation had no effect at all above and beyond age. Adolescents from Romania compared to those from Poland showed a more pronounced acculturation toward earlier ages. There was no clear tendency for the other dummy and for gender.

² Additional cluster analyses separately for the two autonomy facets with T1 to T4 expectations as variables revealed no group of individuals who changed their timetables to later ages. However, there were some adolescents who did not reveal a trend toward earlier timetables with extended length of residence (Schmitt-Rodermund, 1996).

For the experienced group only, older adolescents tended to reveal less acculturation to earlier timing common among the local population.

For autonomy from parental supervision, some of the family experiences and the peer activities showed an effect. However, no consistent pattern turned up. More specifically, higher levels of monitoring corresponded to less pronounced acculturation for both groups of Aussiedler. Further, for newcomers only, higher levels of conflict and permissiveness at home, and more frequent activities outside parents' home, predicted a stronger trend toward earlier ages for autonomy.

Autonomy in social relationships showed a similar pattern of predictors. As was true for the other facet of autonomy, higher levels of monitoring corresponded to less pronounced acculturation, except for the experienced adolescents, where lower levels of monitoring corresponded to more change of the timetables. Higher levels of permissiveness corresponded to a stronger trend toward earlier ages among the newcomers. Neither conflict nor out-of-home activities played a role.

The differences between the four groups reported thus far may be less valid than it looks at first glance. Therefore, a more systematic assessment of the differences was conducted by analyzing the parallelity of the regression slopes between newcomers and experienced Aussiedler. Drawing on Feldman and Rosenthal (1994), an ANCOVA was computed with length of residence as independent and T4 autonomy as dependent variable. All predictors were entered as a pooled covariate. A significant interaction between length of residence and the pooled covariate would indicate differences in the composition of predictors. This was indeed true for both facets of autonomy (parental supervision: $F = 1.75$, $p < .10$; social relationships: $F = 2.70$, $p < .01$). Consequently, results for newcomers and experienced immigrants should not be considered similar.

In sum, Hypothesis 2 was confirmed in three of the four groups as far as monitoring was concerned. Adolescents who in the past shared information about their activities less regularly with parents, revealed a stronger acculturation of timetables to earlier ages. Permissiveness also played the role predicted, though among newcomers only. Conflict and in particular the out-of-home activities, however, were relevant only for autonomy from parental supervision among newcomers.

Discussion

Developmental timetables were shown to differ in relation to cultural value orientations (Feldman & Quatman, 1988; Rosenthal & Bornholt, 1988). In more individualistic cultures personal autonomy is a salient issue. Children are raised with a focus on rights and achievements of the individual, whereas in more collectivist cultures emphasis is placed on social obligations and conformity to the rules (Triandis, 1996). Related to this backdrop, the timing of developmental milestones for autonomy in adolescence is later in collectivist oriented cultures. This is also true among newly arrived Aussiedler (Silbereisen & Schmitt-Rodermund, 1995).

In line with these findings, one should expect a gradual change of such timetables over time among immigrants who migrate to a more individualistically-oriented context. Indeed, previous cross-sectional research revealed differences in timetables between immigrant adolescents who had spent

shorter versus longer periods of time in the host country (Feldman & Rosenthal, 1990). The first aim of the present study was to replicate this finding with a longitudinal data set on two groups of ethnic German immigrants in the age between 10 and 16 years. Newcomers had settled in Germany up to 18 months at first assessment, experienced immigrants between more than 18 and 36 months. As expected, young Aussiedler began to change their timetables to earlier ages after immigration. While this was true for newcomers and experienced ones, the further still shared later timetables on average. However, even the experienced group did not reach the standard common among local peers according to our previous research. After almost four years of residence in Germany, there still was a difference of about one year between the young Germans' timetables for autonomy and that of the Aussiedler (Schmitt-Rodermund, 1996). We do not know whether acculturation will continue or actually has reached a plateau.

The second aim we addressed concerned interindividual differences in the pace of acculturative changes in timetables. Drawing on previous research on modes of family interaction as antecedents (Feldman & Rosenthal, 1991; 1994), basically two kinds of experiences were assessed that were deemed to encourage contacts with local German peers, namely, high levels of conflict and low cohesion, and permissive parenting and low monitoring. In addition, the frequency of out-of-home activities was assessed. Higher levels of the experiences and activities mentioned were predicted to explain change toward earlier timetables.

With the exception of autonomy in social relations among experienced immigrants, the results confirmed this hypothesis with regard to monitoring. Permissiveness showed the expected effect among newcomers. Higher conflicts with parents and more out-of-home activities, however, corresponded to earlier timetables only for autonomy from parental supervision among newcomers. In other words, experienced adolescents' acculturation rate was related to one of the postulated predictors, whereas newcomers' individual differences showed more relations to prior experiences.

Before we discuss the results, a few general comments and caveats are in place. First, the groups of newcomers and experienced immigrants are thought to be equivalent in all respects except differences in the length of residence. Although the data seem to confirm this (differences in the country of origin are a natural consequence of changes in the Aussiedler population), there may be still other particularities of the two groups which could account for the differences in the amount and antecedents of the acculturation rate we found. For instance, Aussiedler who migrated to Germany earlier in the eighties might be different in terms of their determination to leave, conditions of discrimination they faced, or feelings of alienation in Germany. Although we cannot rule out the possibility of such influences on the results, this is not very likely.

Due to the fact that we had to rely on an existing data archive, most scales were very short. Further, some of the assessments did not cover the core of relevant concepts but rather were somewhat peripheral. Nevertheless, the longitudinal nature of the analyses is important. Note that we predicted change in the timetables by individual differences in experiences and free time activities which took place months before the final assessment of timetables. Therefore it is more likely that

individual differences in monitoring lead to the changes in timetables, rather than the opposite way around.

It is also important to bear in mind that the family experiences were gathered from parents, whereas the other information was given by the adolescents. Thus, the respective relations we found cannot be inflated by common measurement variance.

A final comment concerns the assessment of the timetables. Following the procedure used by Feldman and Quatman (1988), and Rosenthal and Bornholt (1988), either the reported age as to when the activity took place was used, or the adolescents' expectations as to when it would happen the first time. This confound implies the risk of a bias (expectations were used in 85% of the cases at T1 and 64% at T4) but we deemed this tolerable because it would change the data in a conservative direction. As the share of actual transition ages grows with the time elapsed, and due to the fact that expectations often are too optimistic (i.e., too early compared to the actual accomplishment), the rate of acculturation would be underestimated.

The following begins with the results on the mean level change in timetables. Both facets showed a similar trend toward earlier ages across the time of residence. The cross-sectional differences between newcomers and experienced adolescents were consistent with the longitudinal change within each of those groups. Note that in terms of length of residence, T1 among the experienced immigrants corresponds to T3 among the newcomers. As these measures did not differ significantly, we deem this result as supporting the view that the two groups are equivalent. The overall trend revealed by the two groups shows a clear indication of leveling-off. Further research needs to show whether still longer residence would result in further acculturation.

Above and beyond the demonstration of change in timetables of autonomy, the major aim of the present study was to better understand the role of prior experiences which predict direction and amount of change. First of all, it is fair to say that we were not very successful in this regard. Beyond the stability of timetables the predictors did not add much. Nevertheless, there was considerable consistency.

Parental monitoring was relevant as predicted with regard to autonomy from parental supervision. Whereas among the newcomers higher levels of information shared with parents contributed as predicted to a slower pace of acculturation in autonomy in social relationships, among the experienced such information flow between adolescents and parents concerning autonomy in social relationships was related to more acculturative change group. As the correlations also revealed this difference in direction, this effect is not due to suppression effects of some kind.

A somewhat speculative interpretation starts from the fact that parents have little control over social relationships once the adolescents are allowed to spend unsupervised time outside the family. During the first months in Germany, parents are much more concerned about dangers for moral conduct they see in Germany (Projektgruppe EVA-A, 1991; Lanquillon, 1983). Consequently, frequent exchange with the adolescent are opportunities to express concern, which, in turn, may lead to a less

rapid acculturation of timetables. After almost two years in Germany, however, parents are much less afraid of risks for their offspring (Projektgruppe EVA-A, 1991), and the resulting open exchange about adolescents' strivings and activities may promote autonomy and result in earlier timetables because adolescents feel accepted in their behavior. The question remains why the same did not take place for autonomy from parental supervision. A possible explanation may relate to the fact that parents do not want to encourage earlier timing here and thus avoid issues or behaviors which adolescents may see as acceptance for accelerated transitions.

The other major finding is that the variables chosen for the prediction of changes in timetables were generally more relevant for the newcomers. We think that this is related to the specific situation of this group. In contrast to non-immigrant youth who already start to get independent from parents (Grotevant & Cooper, 1985), newcomers mostly live in a single room with their mother and father, and do not have many contacts in Germany except to Aussiedler in the same situation (Lange, 1991). To learn about timetables shared by the local age-mates is not very likely under such circumstances, unless the boys and girls are driven out of the family by conflicts, parents show more permissiveness, or the adolescents have more chance to spend some of their time elsewhere. Thus, for newcomers the variables studied are likely to make a real difference in their scope of contacts with local German age-mates. In contrast, many of the families of the experienced adolescents moved already into own homes with more space (Projektgruppe EVA-A, 1991). They had more time to communicate with their classmates, watch TV or go out with friends. Whether they run into conflicts with their parents or whether their parents give them freedom to decide about own issues, does not make a difference in further acculturation of the timetables. Thus, we believe that the predictors did not hold for the experienced group because the actually relevant information on lifestyles and contacts with German age-mates were not measured.

Another interesting finding is the difference in the two facets of autonomy among the newcomers. More frequent activities outside the parental home corresponded to earlier timing in freedom from parental supervision, whereas the same activities were irrelevant for autonomy in social relationships. Presumably this result is mainly due to the fact that the items of the former facet directly relate to such activities (e.g., not have to tell parents where you are going). In other words, adolescents who had more leeway beyond parental supervision than others in the past change their timetables in a more pronounced fashion toward earlier ages in exactly this facet. These same experiences seem not to play a role for the timing of, for instance, first romantic involvement. Presumably this is due to the fact that the young immigrants used their leeway not predominantly for dates but rather took over responsibilities for the families or simply hang around outside the provisional home. Unfortunately we do not have data which would allow to test the adequacy of this assumption.

In sum, the acculturation of timetables proceeds steadily among the young adolescents, whether newcomers or experienced immigrants. Parental influence on the adaptation of timetables seems to decline with length of residence. Nevertheless, the process of adopting timetables compatible with the views of the local Germans is not completed even after three years. In future research, we

need to study which factors contribute to a further trend toward earlier timetables after longer periods of time spent in Germany. If our general assumption is appropriate, more contact with, and information about, the lifestyle of local German peers should support a more accelerated acculturation toward their standards. Future investigations should thus consider variables, such as shared leisure time activities with local friends or time spent watching relevant models on TV.

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Table 1. Different demographic characteristics of the sample (N=220).

	Newcomers	Experienced
	N=107	N=113
Years of residence at T1	0.83 (0.10-1.50)	2.10 (1.52-3.60)
Years of residence at T4	2.63 (1.70-3.52)	3.92 (3.20-5.63)
Age adolescent T1	13.09	13.38
Age mother T1	37.99	38.98
Age father T1	39.88	41.84
Country of origin		
Poland	8.5% (9)	35.3% (40)
Romania	19.5% (21)	37.2% (42)
Former Soviet Union	72.0% (77)	27.4% (31)
Girls	55.1% (59)	45.1% (51)
N of children in family	2.8	2.6
Years schooling mother	9.3	9.9
Years schooling father	9.1	9.5
Had own house before	41.1% (44)	48.7% (55)
Had blue collar job: Fathers	64.5% (69)	66.4% (75)
Had blue collar job: Mothers	29.9% (32)	29.2% (33)
Live in provisional home T1	75.2% (80)	32.7% (36)
Share of working fathers T1	29.2% (33)	72.6% (82)

Table 2. Results of a 2 (Length of Residence) x 2 (Gender) ANOVA with Repeated Measures on Wave (T1 to T4).

	Autonomy from Parental Supervision		Autonomy in Social Relationships	
	E	p	E	p
Gender (A)	1.90	.170	2.84	.094
Length of residence (B)	16.94	.000	11.47	.001
A x B	.23	.633	1.78	.184
Wave(c)	12.67	.000	31.96	.000
A X C	.46	.711	1.39	.246
B x C	.62	.601	2.33	.073
A x B x C	.50	.686	1.27	.283

Table 3. Post-hoc Contrasts for the four Repeated Measures.

	Parental Supervision		Social Relationships	
	Newcomers	Experienced	Newcomers	Experienced
Autonomy T1	T2: n.s.	T2: 6.89 **	T2: 8.46 **	T2: 11.01 ***
Autonomy T1/T2	T3: 5.15 *	T3: n.s.	T3: 29.44 ***	T3: 5.70 *
Autonomy T1/T2/T3	T4: 13.95 ***	T4: 13.44 ***	T4: 35.90 ***	T4: 12.78 ***

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Each row represents a contrast. Row 2 reveals the contrast between the average of T1 and T2 score of timetables and the T3 assessment.

Table 4. Multiple Regression Analyses: Predictors of Change in Autonomy Expectations.

	Autonomy from Parental Supervision				Autonomy in Social Relationships			
	Newcomers		Experienced		Newcomers		Experienced	
	b	beta	b	beta	b	beta	b	beta
Male	-.08	-.05	-.08	-.05	.28	.17 +	.08	.05
Age	.06	.11	.18	.44 ***	-.00	-.00	.08	.19 +
Fast maturation	-.02	-.01	.01	.01	.07	.05	.07	.05
D1	-.27	-.16 +	-.17	-.19 +	-.10	-.06	-.26	-.28 **
D2	.08	.06	.02	.02	-.15	-.11	.27	.27 *
Monitoring	.35	.27 **	.19	.17 +	.26	.21 *	-.21	-.18 +
Conflict	-.22	-.17 +	.04	.03	-.13	-.10	-.14	-.12
Permissiveness	-.12	-.16 +	-.07	-.14	-.15	-.21 *	-.04	-.06
Cohesion	.19	.11	.04	.03	.02	.01	.21	.13
Activities	-.28	-.22 *	-.02	-.02	-.08	-.06	.06	.05
Autonomy T1	.25	.30 ***	.13	.16 +	.30	.34 ***	.33	.37 ***
R	.60 ***		.54 ***		.64 ***		.52 ***	
R ²	.36		.29		.41		.27	
adj. R ²	.27		.22		.34		.19	

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

D1: Poland = -1, Romania = 1, D2: Poland = -1, Soviet Union = 1.

Acculturation of Timetables among Newcomers and Experienced Immigrants

